DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 022 212

CG 002 712

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THE VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE OLDER DISABLED WORKER: A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF THE RECENT LITERATURE. VOLUME II OF FINAL REPORT.

Federation Employment and Guidance Service, New York, N.Y.

Spons Agency-Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C.

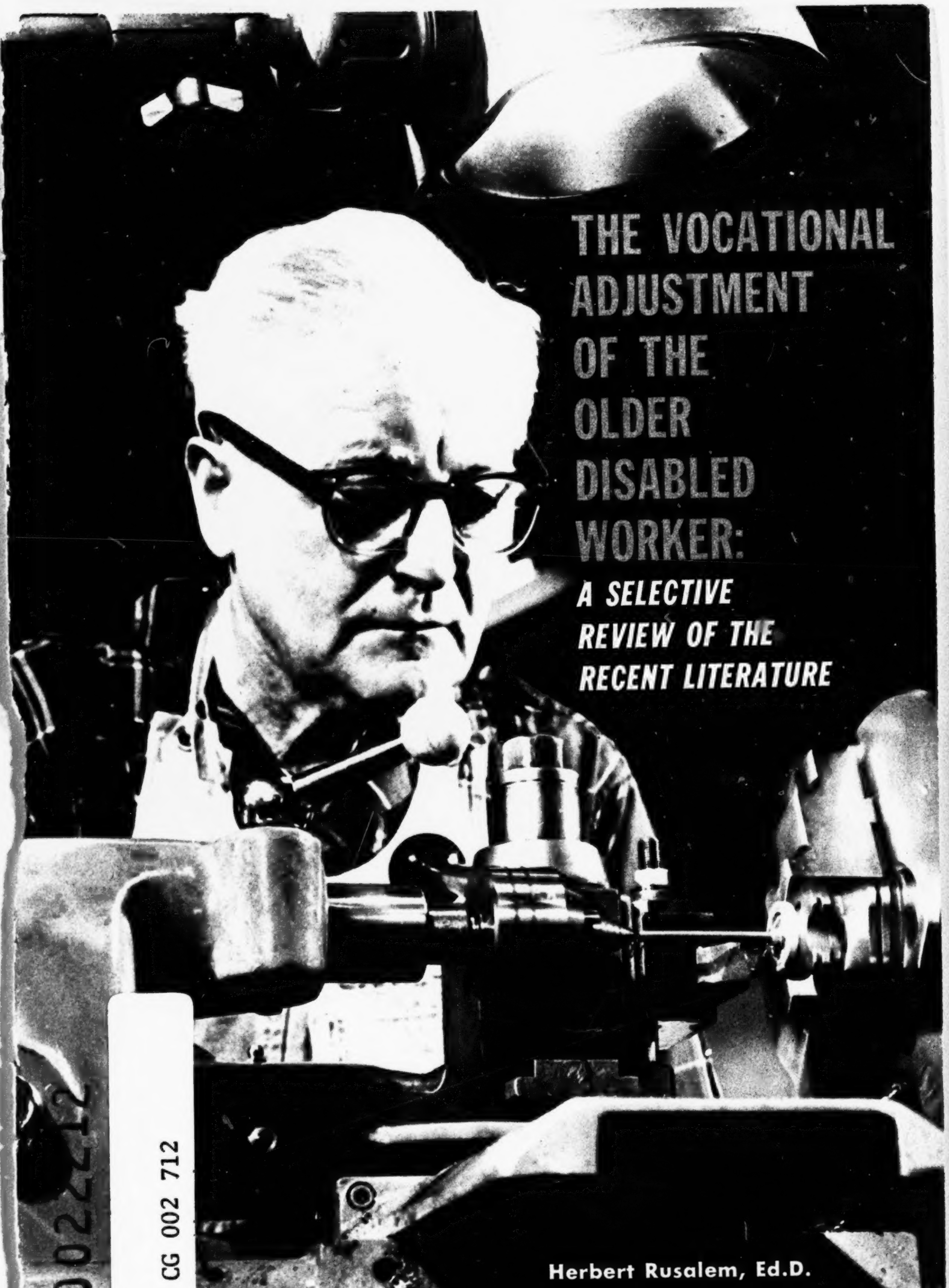
Pub Date 67

Note-60p.

EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$2.48

Descriptors-LITERATURE REVIEWS, *OLDER ADULTS, *PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, *VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT, *VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

A review of the literature concerning the vocational adjustment of older disabled persons shows that 10-15% of these individuals are interested in being employed. With rehabilitation and training, these older persons can be helped to some level of employment. The major deterrents have been the negative attitudes of employers and the lack of vocational rehabilitation programs available. On the basis of the data reviewed, the author recommends demonstration programs, a clearinghouse for rehabilitation information, research and training centers, and new social-psychological approaches to the vocational problems of older persons. (NS)



THE VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE OLDER DISABLED WORKER:

A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF THE RECENT LITERATURE

Herbert Rusalem, Ed.D.

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HIGHLIGHTS

During the five-year period 1962-66 Federation Employment and Guidance Service (FEGS) conducted a six-phase vocational rehabilitation program for older disabled workers, coordinating central facility services with the services of two neighborhood-based programs. This organizational pattern enabled the project to provide vocational rehabilitation to a whole spectrum of older disabled clients ranging in capacity from the highly mobile (served in the Central Facility) to the seriously limited (including homebound, hospitalized, institutionalized, and neighborhood-bound individuals), all of whom were eligible for state vocational agency services.

More than 1,500 clients were served. These clients had a mean age of 59.6 years, a mean educational level of 7.7 years, and a mean period of unemployment of 2.8 years. Cardiac and orthopedic conditions predominated. Clients received a combination of services adapted to their individual needs including intake, workshop, psychological, and interview evaluations, personal adjustment training, counseling, placement, long-term workshop employment, and follow-up.

65% of the Central Facility sample who achieved readiness for placement obtained employment on one or more jobs in competitive industry. In almost all cases, Neighborhood Facility clients were too severely limited to enter industry. However, subsequent to training, despite severe limitations, 47% of this neighborhood-bound group functioned successfully in the long-term sheltered employment opportunities provided by the project directly in their own neighborhoods.

61% of the Central Facility clients and 66% of the Neighborhood Facility clients whose cases were closed by the New York State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation were classified as "rehabilitated." Intensive follow-up studies of both groups indicated that the gains made during rehabilitation tended to persist over the long run. The psychosocial benefits derived from re-engagement in vocational activities were no less important than the measurable improvement in economic status found throughout the client group.

Research studies conducted in conjunction with the project service effort identified several major areas of positive change among clients participating in the project, including physical and mental health, reality-testing behavior, self-perceptions, and personal autonomy. The data also suggest that the success of a program such as this concerned with neighborhood-based services is largely dependent upon the effectiveness of the community organization structures developed for it.

(Continued on inside back cover)

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A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF THE RECENT LITERATURE

Herbert Rusalem, Ed.D.

Volume II of Final Report of Project RD-903-P

This report resulted from the investigation which was supported, in part, by a research and demonstration grant from the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.

A new Agency, the Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) was established in August 1967 to carry out the functions of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, the Welfare Administration, the Administration on Aging, and the Mental Retardation Division of the Bureau of Health Services, Public Health Service.

Federation Employment and Guidance Service
215 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003

1967

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PREFACE

During the five-year period, January 1, 1962 through December 31, 1966, assisted by a research and demonstration grant from the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Federation Employment and Guidance Service (FEGS)* conducted a comprehensive six-phase program designed to provide vocational rehabilitation service to older disabled persons. This project featured a unique working relationship between a centrally-based service and two neighborhood-based facilities through which vocationally motivated clients 55 years of age and over with varying degrees of disability received the assistance they needed to return to some level of employment. FEGS demonstrated that such a program could restore vocational fitness even to clients who were so limited that they were confined to neighborhood areas, private residences, hospitals, and homes for the aged.

Throughout this project, extensive data were gathered concerning the literature, the characteristics of the sample, and the nature of clients' experiences in the vocational rehabilitation process. As the project neared its termination, this large mass of data was analyzed with the assistance of computer processes. A staff review of the findings indicated that three major types of information had been derived from the project:

1. Data concerning the experiences of other agencies and researchers working with similar groups of clients.
2. Data relating to the problems of organizing and administering a comprehensive vocational rehabilitation program for older disabled persons.
3. Data describing the project sample and the experimental interventions to which they had been exposed.

Despite attempts to reduce the volume of the data, it became clear that the broad scope of the findings warranted detailed treatment. Consequently, it was decided to prepare three separate but interrelated reports, each of which would be a free-standing effort addressing itself to a well-defined aspect of the project. Although it will be necessary to consult all three volumes in order to obtain a complete picture of the project, it may be more convenient for the reader to refer only to the one which is most relevant to his interests. The report consists of the following separate volumes:

Volume I: Rehabilitating the Older Disabled Worker. (A Report of the Project Experience.)
Volume II: The Vocational Adjustment of the Older Disabled Worker: A Selective Review of the Recent Literature.
Volume III: The Vocational Rehabilitation of Neighborhood-Bound Older Disabled Persons: A Program Guide.

The reader is invited to consult any or all of them as a totality. They reflect a reasonable image of this five-year FEGS team effort to cope with the vocationally debilitating effects of advancing age and severe disability through vocational rehabilitation.

Roland Baxt, Executive Director
Federation Employment and Guidance Service

**FEGS is a privately supported non-sectarian community vocational guidance, vocational rehabilitation, job placement and research facility in New York City, affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.*

THE VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE OLDER DISABLED WORKER

A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF THE RECENT LITERATURE

BACKGROUND

Human development is a continuous lifelong process during which the individual moves from stage to stage in an orderly pattern. These stages occur at different times in different individuals but their sequence is the same for all. A number of theorists have charted the vocational aspects of this developmental process. As they view it, the vague and formless fantasies of childhood give way to greater and greater specificity in vocational choice, and entry into remunerative employment is followed by establishment, maintenance, and decline in one's career. By the time that old age arrives, the individual is expected to have moved out of the mainstream of remunerative employment into a period when non-vocational concerns become paramount.

This final stage is considered even more inevitable when advancing age is accompanied by physical, intellectual, or emotional disability. This conjunction of forces is thought to hasten the vocational disengagement process, rendering the person less interested in, and less capable of participating in employment. In accordance with this developmental expectation, society has introduced numerous measures to support the older disabled person in his vocational disengagement. Adorning retirement with honor and prerequisites, strengthening retirement provisions in both the public and private sectors of the economy, and erecting barriers to continuing employment in the older years, American society has nudged the older disabied worker out of the labor market, and has adjudged his willingness to respond to the nudge to be a normal step in the developmental process.

Despite the evidence of their own reduced capacities and the encouragement of the community to disengage themselves from the world of work, some older disabled persons persist in their quest for employment. Neither arbitrary employment age limits, nor disqualifications on the basis of disability, dissuade these workers from job-hunting. Some theorists perceive this persistence as a maladaptive response, a position supported by some disengagement theorists (e.g. Cumming and Henry, 1961). Whatever the theoretical implications may be, the fact remains that a proportion of older persons undeterred by their declining capacities and cultural pressures seeks life satisfaction in continued employment. Without organized assistance, they usually encounter mounting resistance and frustration in their pursuit of this goal.

The social utility of this continuing quest can be debated at length. The critical fact is that some proportion of older disabled persons (some 15 to 20

The author wishes to thank Roland Baxt, Irving Barshop, and Helen Neswald for their assistance. This study was conducted under the auspices of Federation Employment and Guidance Service, New York City.

per cent of one neighborhood found in a community survey conducted by Federation Employment and Guidance Service) experiences a delayed development toward retirement from the labor market. This delay renders them highly susceptible to punitive action by the culture in the form of denial of work opportunities, lack of sympathy for their vocational aspirations, assignment to unrewarding and low-level work tasks, and active discouragement by families, friends, and others in the community. Despite repeated rebuffs and a lack of current reinforcement of their vocational strivings, these individuals, moved by a functionally autonomous need to engage in work, refuse to depart from the vocational arena for other more socially approved life environments.

This review of the literature will address itself to the important minority of older disabled persons who fail to heed the injunctions of their calendars and clocks and who go on working or seeking work regardless of the difficulties which the process entails. Although few of the authorities cited differentiate the older disabled worker from the older worker per se, the evidence concerning the incidence of disability in old age suggests that in speaking of the latter, the former is usually included as well. Thus, the frequency of disabling conditions among persons 55 years of age and over is so great that relatively few people in this age group are immune from significant decrements in work capacity. As a consequence, in selecting the materials to be reviewed, the author has not confined himself exclusively to those which patently refer to older disabled workers. As one moves up the scale of age, the two populations — the aged and the disabled aged — become increasingly parallel, and one cannot be readily differentiated from the other. Therefore, many of the ideas and findings in the literature concerning older workers, in general, will be discussed in this paper because they are applicable to older disabled workers as well. However, studies will be excluded which describe their samples specifically as comprising non-disabled individuals.

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The basic statistics concerning the aged in America are well-known. In 1960, there were 17 million Americans 65 years of age and over. This number is expected to rise to 25 million by 1980. At that time,there will be some 44 million additional persons in the age range 45 to 64 years (White House Conference on Aging, 1961). Some of the major trends in the 65 and over group provide important background for considering the vocational adjustment of older disabled persons:

1. Life expectancy is increasing more rapidly for the women than for the men. The ratio of women to men 65 years of age and over is 129:100 (U.S. Administration on Aging, 1966).
2. Two-thirds of the men and one-third of the women in this age range live in families with their spouses (U.S. Administration on Aging, 1966).
3. A decreasing proportion of older males and an increasing proportion of older females are in the labor market. In all, 17 per cent of individuals 65 years of age and over currently are in the labor force (25

per cent of the men; 10 per cent of the women) (Administration on Aging, 1966).

4. The proportion of older persons in self-employment is higher than in the general population. However, opportunities for this type of work situation are declining (U.S. Department of Labor, 1956).

5. The number of years of retirement for older men is increasing. Currently, it is three times as great as it was in 1900 (White House Council on Aging, 1961).

6. Withdrawal from the labor market usually results in a sharp drop in family income (Kreps, 1962).

7. Persons over 65 had the highest percentage of poverty in the United States (Orshansky, 1966).

8. In and of itself, social security does not eradicate financial want since most benefits are at a modest level. Furthermore, only half of all persons aged 65 and over were recipients of earned social security benefits (Palmore, 1964).

Essentially, Americans aged 65 and over tend to have financial problems, many of them deriving from their withdrawal or exclusion from the labor market. Those who are recipients of higher incomes tend to be persons in the younger range who are married and living with spouses and who are recipients of interest, dividends and rent. The low-income group tends to depend more upon social security and public assistance benefits. They are more often unmarried and, prior to age 65, they tended to be low-earners (Palmore, 1965).

Thirty-one per cent of the aged in the United States are living on the poverty level. About half of the aged poor live in metropolitan areas. In 1964, earnings accounted for about one-sixth of all income received by aged families on the poverty level. On the other hand, earnings constituted about half of the total income of all other aged families. Thus, those who have earnings are better off than those who do not. In considering these facts, Cohen (1965) suggested a comprehensive blueprint for action for the aged, one element of which is the "opportunity to work and to continue to contribute skills and knowledge earned over a lifetime."

Local data concerning the aged have relevance for this review as well. In New York City in 1960, there were over 800,000 persons 65 years of age and over. The ratio of the aged to the total city population was 1:18 in 1940, 1:13 in 1950, and 1:10 in 1960. The increased concentration of aged persons in the city was attributed to changes in life expectancy and the outward migration of young adults into the suburbs (Thorne, 1966). Although the aged constituted 10 per cent of the population of New York City, they formed only 5.4 per cent of the city's labor force. The unemployment rate of this segment was considerably higher than that for the younger age groups (Community Council of Greater New York, 1964). Although the problems of aging exist in all parts of the country, Guthrie (1964) suggested that they are most acute in the cities.

The data concerning the aged in the suburbs are beginning to emerge with greater frequency. For example, in a survey conducted in a New York suburb (Nassau County Long Island Planning Commission, 1965), it was found that the median income of suburban households headed by a person 60 years of age and over was $5,476 as compared to $7,850 for households headed by a younger person. Economic and social problems were most severe among the older women, particularly those who lived in rented housing units.

The problems confronting older workers are well documented in the literature. Unemployed aged persons interested in obtaining work find job opportunities scarce in most occupational and geographical areas. The situation is most critical in the group aged 65 to 69 whose members are characterized by low employment rates despite relatively high vocational ability and willingness to work (U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 1960).

Among the major deterrents to the continued employment of older persons in industry are:

1. Compulsory retirement schemes which fail to differentiate able older workers from those who can no longer compete in industry. Enforced retirement is often used to open new promotional opportunities for younger workers. Although this is a socially useful function, it is usually performed without reference to the needs and capacities of older workers (Fox, 1951; Kreps, 1962).
2. Pension plans often result in non-utilization of capable older workers. Studies indicate that firms with well-established pension systems have a higher rate of retirement at age 65 than other firms do. The net effect is job loss for many older persons who are able to continue working despite age factors (Fox, 1951).
3. The establishment of a maximum hiring age tends to disqualify competent older persons for certain types of employment. Age ceilings ignore the fact that chronological age alone is a misleading indicator of vocational capacity and that, at any age, individuals differ widely in their capacities (Fox, 1951).
4. Job areas that are considered especially favorable for older persons are declining in their need for workers. Among these are: agriculture, unskilled work, and proprietors, managers, and officials. In contrast, there is a growing emphasis upon occupational classifications such as technicians which require familiarity with recent technological advances (Drake, 1958; Kreps, 1962; U.S. President's Council on Aging, 1963).
5. Job shortages, especially in times of economic decline, react against the older worker. Employers who have the opportunity of making the choice, tend to select younger workers in most situations. Consequently, the aged enjoy wider opportunities during periods of acute labor shortage, e.g. national emergencies. But, in most situations, like the handicapped, they are often the last to be hired and the first to be fired (U.S. President's Council on Aging, 1963; Kreps, 1962).
6. Declining health and abilities contribute to the employment difficulties of older workers. Since this variable will be discussed in detail

subsequently, it will just be mentioned at this point (U.S. President's Council on Aging, 1963). However, it should be noted that surveys indicate that only four to five per cent of workers retire voluntarily while in good health (Shock, 1957).

7. Increased automation tends to displace elderly workers who usually lack the new technological skills that are required for continued employment. Confronted by the need for extensive re-training, employers and elderly persons themselves may find retirement to be the preferred alternative (National Council on the Aging, 1964; Odell, 1952).

8. Some older workers are unwilling or unable to adapt to the changes required by new industrial and occupational conditions. This resistance, often emotional in character, makes it difficult for some older persons to use counseling and training resources developed especially to meet their needs (National Council on the Aging, 1964).

9. Aptitude tests are used by employers to screen applicants for certain types of employment. When such tests reward speed factors, they place older workers at a disadvantage and exclude them from possible job opportunities (Odell, 1958).

10. Generalized negative employer attitudes toward older workers also restrict job openings. Such attitudes co-exist with expressed employer satisfaction with the older workers whom they currently employ (Odell, 1958).

As a consequence of these deterrents, large numbers of elderly workers are deprived of appropriate work opportunities, suffer economic deprivation, and fail to enjoy the psychological benefits which derive from employment. The problem is an exceedingly complex one with roots in the economy, social and cultural attitudes, reality changes in the older person, and employment practices, all of which contribute to the generalized vocational loss suffered by the individual. Despite strong evidence in his favor and high work motivation, the capable older individual is compelled to accept casual, part-time, or low-level employment, if, indeed, any employment at all is available to him. At a time when he requires extensive interest, understanding, and support, he is likely to be confronted by unreasoning employers and rejecting personnel officers. The problem is exacerbated even further when the older individual possesses one or more disabilities which limit his functioning in employment.

Odell (1952) reported on an extensive study of the employment problems of 8,727 elderly persons. Conducted by the United States Bureau of Employment Security with the cooperation of five states, constituting a labor market cross-section, it revealed that the age at which a worker is considered industrially old differs depending upon the nature of the job, the qualifications of the individual, the sex of the applicant, the conditions in the local labor market and other factors. Odell found that seniority and promotional practices that protect the already-employed older worker act against the hiring of new older workers. When re-employment occurs, it does so most frequently in unskilled and service jobs. This same study confirmed the finding that older workers tend to have longer periods of unemployment and that the acceptance of necessary assistance reduces the sense of self-esteem among them. Odell found that common misconceptions about the older worker are not supported by the facts. In actuality, older workers have better attendance, higher productivity ratings, and more favorable safety records than younger workers.

In view of the complex causes and consequences of the employment problems of older persons, a vast array of suggestions have been offered in an attempt to ameliorate the situation. Among these are:

1. Improved and more extensive guidance, training, and placement programs for the elderly (Klein, 1961).
2. Government appropriations for training vocational specialists for the aged (Klein, 1961).
3. Wider adoption of personnel practices which minimize worker displacement, e.g. adjusting the work force by not filling vacancies rather than by layoffs (Klein, 1961).
4. More generalized pre-retirement counseling (Klein, 1961; Retirement Advisors, Inc., 1964).
5. Research on the learning capacities, skills, and other characteristics of the older worker and wide dissemination of the results issuing from such studies (Klein, 1961).
6. Extensive re-training programs for the aged with built-in economic and psychological incentives which will encourage the widest possible participation (U.S. Department of Labor, 1956; California Department of Employment, 1964).
7. Flexible retirement ages keyed to a realistic appraisal of the capacities of each individual worker (U.S. Department of Labor, 1956). Shock (1957) suggested approaches which should be adopted in evaluating the desirability of continued employment for elderly individuals, including the use of measured physiological and psychological age data in place of chronological age, gradual and partial retirement plans replacing the current all-or-none practice, the creation of jobs specifically suited to the aged, the redesign of old jobs to fit older workers' qualifications, and a more constructive use of automation.
8. Expansion of community and volunteer service opportunities for the aged in all areas, enabling older individuals to continue to make a contribution to society even if it is not directly within a competitive industry setting (National Council on Aging, 1965; U.S. President [Kennedy], 1963).
9. Education of the public regarding the nation's need for the skills and experience of older workers. Many younger persons fail to realize that all Americans could benefit from wider use of older workers in projects designed to solve some of the nation's most critical problems (U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Employment Security and Retirement for the White House Conference on Aging, 1960; Agan, 1966; Kreps, 1965; Rudfield, 1963; Kirchner, 1957).

10. Expanded activity on the part of the Federal Civil Service in demonstrating the values of evaluating employment applicants on the basis of abilities, not age (U.S. President [Kennedy], 1963).

11. A generalized adult education program for the aged with a humanitarian outlook which would facilitate older workers' acceptance of job re-training (McConnell, 1962).

12. Government assistance to firms engaged in job redesign, retraining, and re-assignment activities on behalf of older workers displaced for any reason (Barkin, 1961).

13. The enactment of legislation forbidding job discrimination on the basis of arbitrary age standards (Agan, 1966).

14. A joint effort undertaken by business, labor, and other groups to seek means of developing additional job opportunities for older persons (Kreps, 1965).

15. Stepped-up job-hunting campaigns by organized groups on behalf of the aging, particularly in the personal service area on a part-time basis (National Corporation for the Care of Old People, 1963).

16. The development of increased specialized vocational services to deal with the employment problems of aging (Tibbitts, 1965). Apparently, when older persons are provided vocational services in a generalized caseload spanning the total age range, there is a possibility of their suffering the effects of neglect and apathy.

17. Legislative protection of the older worker against possible underpayment of wages by the employer (O'Brien, 1962).

18. Revision of pension plans to permit supplementation of benefits by earnings (Kuh, 1952).

19. Improved coordination between vocational and other community services for the aged (Becker, 1966).

20. Improved long-range planning aimed at the reform of institutional care programs so that they will place greater emphasis upon the encouragement of self-sustaining activities by older individuals (Kutner, 1966).

21. Granting subsidies to business firms which provide services and/or job opportunities to the older worker (Business Week, 1963).

22. Development of community workshops and other specialized employment programs for the aged (California Department of Employment, 1964).

23. The provision of funds by government, industry, and labor to pay for the costs of relocating older workers in areas offering more favorable employment opportunities (Stern, 1955-6).

24. Formation of local community committees to work with industry and labor on the problems of older workers. Since most elderly workers seek employment near their homes, local solutions may be the most appropriate (McDonnell, 1955).

As indicated above, there is no shortage of ideas for assisting the older worker. Indeed, on occasion, older persons, themselves, have suggested courses of action. In one study conducted by Iowa State University, listeners to radio broadcasts aimed at older persons expressed the following needs: tax relief, a central meeting place for older people, adult education classes, relief from loneliness, and, in the area of employment, counseling services, part-time work, and opportunities to learn crafts (Collins, 1963).

Some authors perceive solutions for the aged worker as dependent upon larger social issues. Klein (1961) stated that aged workers in America will receive more favorable treatment when most people perceive their needs as compatible with the needs of society as a whole. McConnell (1962) observed that automation is creating problems for all workers through diminishing the need for the 35-hour work week. Whereas, in the past, work gave meaning and direction to many lives, it no longer fills that role to the same extent. Consequently, aged, as well as younger workers, will be required to re-assess their basic work values, placing greater emphasis on the distribution and use of leisure and engagement in partial employment. The National Council on the Aging (1964) saw the problem as interrelated with the need of all mature Americans for adult education. As a solution, the Council proposed that educational leaves should be granted as an earned right after a specified number of years in employment. In addition to creating job openings for others, the proposed educational leave would prepare workers for job upgrading and ultimate retirement.

There is no shortage of constructive thinking about the older worker. However, most of the creative suggestions made have not yet been implemented for the benefit of aged workers as a group. Delay seems to stem from the failure of American society to actively support expanded work opportunities for older persons. Mired in ambivalent feelings about aged workers, Americans have evolved few successful vocational programs for this group. The current attack upon the problem seems to be partialistic, half-hearted and expedient. There is little evidence of commitment to career preservation and extension for the older worker. If anything, he is regarded as an irritant whose presence diverts us from our preoccupation with youth. Hopefully, the Older Americans Act and the recent reorganization of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will promote greater national concern for the vocational problems of the older worker. In order for this to come about, however, social, educational, political, and vocational thinking in our society will have to be re-oriented leading to perceptions of older persons not merely as consumers of financial benefits but, as an important manpower resource and a vocationally deprived sector of the community. Perhaps, the difficulty lies not so much in older persons themselves as in society's inability to come to grips with its own feelings about employment for the aged.

If society's attitudes toward the aging were the only variable, the situation would still be incredibly complex. However, the onset of physical, intellectual, and emotional disabilities during the older years sharpens the problem. Normally, progressive deteriorative changes occur in healthy older persons which affect vocational capacities. Along with common reductions in vision, hearing, mobility, and other life functions, many older persons suffer concomitantly from vocationally significant long-term illnesses and disabilities. Chronic illness seems to be prevalent throughout this age group. In one study, only 4.6 per cent of individuals aged 65 and over had no evidence of chronic illness. Concomitantly, 29.9 per cent of the group had chronic illness so severe that it resulted in activity limitations, and another 85.2 per cent had "substantial" chronic conditions (Parke, Davis and Company, 1958). Data from the same study indicated that, in any given four-week period, persons between the ages 65 and 74 years were "disabled" due to chronic illness for an average of two and one-half days. The disablement period rose to four days in the 75 and over age group. This finding may be contrasted with the average of less than one day for the 45 and under group. In another study, 34 per cent of the aged persons surveyed were found to have had some limitation in movement (Sheldon, 1950).

Investigations conducted with another sample revealed that 45 per cent of the men 65 years of age and over who had withdrawn from the labor market reported that they were not well enough physically to work (Steiner and Dorfman, 1957). Data from the same study revealed that 79 per cent of all voluntary retirements were for reasons of health. The United States Public Health Service, in its continuing investigations of the nation's health, has spelled out the health problems indigenous to old age, including:

1. The major chronic diseases that cause disablement in the aged are arthritis, rheumatism, and mental illness.
2. Visual and hearing impairments increase greatly after age 64.
3. Persons over the age of 65 spend three times as many days in general hospitals as those under 65.
4. Hospitalizations for mental illness are more common for the aged than for younger groups.
5. Heart disease, cancer and circulatory disorders which are the major killers among the aged are also causes of disability (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1960).

In addition to physical disabilities, the aged tend to experience cognitive losses as well. Birren (1965) observed that some of the emotional adjustment problems of the aged are related to the necessity of coping with environmental changes, losses, and pressures that are difficult to manage at any age, but especially so with reduced capacities. As Birren put it: "The events of increased age may leave him (the older person) less acute in many ways, so that he is trying to perceive and integrate difficult relationships with a lessened mental capacity." Depression, a commonly observed phenomenon among the aging, is thought to be a defense against this trying situation. Busse (1965) in the course of a longitudinal study of aged persons, concluded that two major emotional reactions to the losses sustained in old age are depression and hypochrondriasis. In a sample of 222 aged subjects, 25 per cent were considered emotionally "normal."

Linden (1964) stated his belief that the social-cultural situation of the aged person coupled with physiological changes results in premature senility and fantasy in many older persons. Among the situational factors which contribute to stress in old age are inadequate income, loss of loved ones, downgraded living conditions, and lowered prestige. In conjunction with chronic physical conditions and biophysical changes, situational factors precipitate numerous psychological problems for older individuals.

Reduction in physical vigor, mental health, and intellectual competency all intensify the vocational adjustment problems of older workers. Davidson and Kunze (1965) noted that prolonged absences from work become a problem after age 55. Despite the wish to continue in employment, the older person's awareness of the changes that accompany the aging process causes him to feel much apprehension as he approaches retirement age. This apprehension is heightened when there is a lack of adequate planning for the later years.

In the past, attempts to rehabilitate the older person have focused on health, dependency, and the living situation (Dahlin, 1964). Less frequent attempts have been made to rehabilitate the middle-aged worker who is at the threshold of the last stage in his career. Commonly, services are offered only when the emotional damage has already been felt and the individual is suffering the social and psychological deprivations of old age. Clay (1960) noted that although competency in some highly skilled occupations is achieved only after many years of experience, the older industrial worker continuing in his accustomed job usually is called upon to cope with job demands which exceed his capacities in some respects. Competitive pressure from younger workers may complicate the situation even further, causing distress and defensive reactions. Similar disabilities occur in fine visual tasks and those requiring accurate short-term memory.

Donahue, Rae, and Berry (1953) suggested that the best rehabilitation for older workers is that which anticipates and prepares the individual for the social, psychological, and medical changes that occur in old age. Professional intervention prior to the occurrence of loss can help the older worker to cope more effectively with the consequences of the aging process. The cost of such a pre-rehabilitation program would be more than offset by savings resulting from the prevention of economic dependency and institutionalization.

The same theme was sounded in a Vocational Rehabilitation Administration report of a conference on the older disabled worker (1965). The conference urged the recognition of aging as a process which begins at birth and continues throughout life. As a result, the problems of aging cannot be compartmentalized into any specific age range. In this frame of reference, development toward and preparation for, the older years should take place throughout the life span.

Reports of the high incidence of mental impairment among the aged have stimulated investigators to study the conditions under which the deteriorative process may be slowed or even reversed. Psychotherapeutic and chemical measures are being supplemented by experimental environmental approaches to the problem. Linden (1966) suggested that activity programs, resocialization activities, and environmental manipulation can be fruitful in conserving capacity in the aged. Schwartz (1964) and Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop (1963) suggested that remunerative work can be a powerful environmental influence in counteracting mental impairment and emotional disturbance among the aged.

Almost without dissent, writers in this field acknowledge that physical, intellectual, and emotional disability render the older person less capable of performing effectively in a vocational situation. Although some older workers accept disability and even welcome enforced disengagement from vocational activities, a considerable minority does not. The members of this latter group have a profound need for extending their careers into their sixties, seventies, and even later, deriving from their vocational experiences added income, self-esteem, and a degree of social relatedness that keeps them in the mainstream of human interpersonal activity. Beyond this, there is some reason to believe that work activity for those who need and desire it actually sustains the individual emotionally and, perhaps, intellectually and physically, as well. Although the data in the intellectual and physical realms are not conclusive, there is a possibility that additional studies will reinforce the belief that work is therapeutic for vocationally-motivated aged persons in all aspects of living.

There is almost a contradiction in these findings. As a vocationally-oriented individual ages, his capacities for engaging in employment decrease, especially if a chronic condition is present. Yet, as the ability to function vocationally declines, the need for vocational experiences may actually rise. Older persons with employment aspirations may be caught in an intolerable bind between declining capacities, reduced opportunities, and community inertia. Without organized professional assistance, the situation can become irremediable for the disabled older worker. At times, it seems as though he stands alone in his search for some form of vocational satisfaction, receiving scant support from his family or the community. Turn and twist as he will, the most that will be offered to him usually is participation in a recreational day center. This arrangement is suitable for some older disabled persons but not the ones who, because of economic and social need, will be satisfied with nothing less than remunerative employment. The remainder of this review of the literature will concern itself with the dilemma of this group exploring such areas of vocational adjustment as:

1. Displacement, unemployment, and retirement.
2. Pension problems.
3. Legislation.
4. Capacities of the older disabled worker.
5. Expanding vocational opportunities for the older disabled person.
6. Vocational counseling.
7. Education and training.
8. Sheltered workshops.
9. Placement.
10. Volunteer services and crafts.
11. Community programs.

On the basis of the data presented, generalizations will be drawn concerning the vocational adjustment of the older disabled worker, and recommendations will be made for possible programming for the future.

DISPLACEMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND RETIREMENT

The loss of employment through displacement, layoff, or discharge is a critical event for the disabled older worker since there is less probability of reemployment for him than for other workers (U.S. President's Council on Aging, 1964). Even though the older disabled worker may receive assistance through his state employment service, he frequently is rejected by prospective employers. This situation prompted the President's Council on Aging to recommend legislation outlawing job discrimination on the basis of age.

In a study of unemployed workers over the age of 45 in Peoria, Illinois (Franke, 1963), it was found that the period of unemployment was longer for disabled workers over the age of 55 than for other sub-groups. In addition to disability, low educational level (ninth grade or less) and a history of short-term jobs were associated with more extended periods of unemployment among older workers. Nearly 20 per cent of the unemployed older workers in this study failed to apply for employment services probably because of discouragement and loss of hope. These unemployed older workers tended to blame age discrimination for their unemployment, and expressed little hope in the value of vocational training as a means of elevating their employability. In reviewing the effects of job displacement among the aged, Soffer (1963) observed that seniority as currently constituted offers little protection to the older worker when jobs are eliminated by automation. A revised retention approach was suggested in which seniority previously earned would be credited toward transitional jobs in industry that would be reserved for workers who are ending their careers.

Unemployment can be equally pernicious when it occurs as a result of involuntary retirement. Long (1966) estimated that the nation suffers an annual loss in productivity of some $3.8 billion as a result of retirements. The failure to use the potential of older workers is not compensated for by pensions, social security, or job guarantees. Indeed, these are regarded as costly means of managing the problem. Long suggested a multi-dimensional remedial approach which would include: (1) legislation forbidding age discrimination in employment, (2) educational campaigns aimed at employers, (3) re-training programs for job openings that are currently available, (4) additional guidance and counseling, and (5) do-it-yourself experiments in which older persons engage in self-help job-finding activities.

The values and limitations of early retirement have been widely debated. In a symposium on this subject (Industrial Relations, 1965), Odell urged adequate financial, educational, and social services for older workers who elect to accept early retirement. Those declining the early retirement option should continue to work as long as they are able to perform on a satisfactory level. On the other hand, Bernstein, participating in the same symposium, suggested that the funds which would be used for early retirement plans would have greater utility in increasing payments for disability and regular retirement benefits. Noting that American values are work-oriented, Bernstein cited studies which indicate that most workers approaching retirement age prefer to continue working. An apparent exception to this finding was reported by Peck. Civil Service employees in a Los Angeles municipal department who were given guidance three years prior to retirement revealed favorable attitudes toward their impending disengagement from work (Peck, 1963).

The factors entering into an individual's decision to retire (if the option is open to him) include personal attitudes toward work and retirement, the availability of job opportunities, the level of remuneration on such jobs, and the anticipated level of retirement income. However, physical health and the individual's anticipation of the difficulties he may face in continuing to work play an important role in retirement decisions (Gallaway, 1965). In fact, many older workers do not have a choice. More often than not, retirement is imposed upon them. In such cases, the imminence of the retirement date generates feelings of bitterness and negatively influences on-the-job performance and interpersonal relationships. Although most retirees found the post-retirement period less difficult than they had anticipated, there was a subgroup that preferred not to retire or was unprepared psychologically to take this step. Selective rather than compulsory retirement was suggested for this group (Solem, 1963).

Although the need for additional income is a powerful stimulus for remaining in the labor market, it is by no means the sole determinant. For example, a study conducted at two well-to-do planned retirement communities in Arizona revealed that even in this setting, a proportion of older individuals expressed interest in obtaining employment, especially on a part-time basis. This interest in work was especially strong in the female members of the group. The tendency in the group was to prefer types of work similar to that experienced earlier in life.

Compulsory retirement in various forms is encountered more often in large firms which are unionized than in other types of industrial enterprise. Slavick (1966) found that resistance to retaining employees beyond the normal retirement age rises in industry during periods of declining business activity. He advocated a freedom of choice for older workers which allows for job retention, if desired. "Flexible" provisions of this type would assist in reducing the incidence of poverty among the aged, and would increase the degree of their continued participation in the labor market.

The available evidence suggests that disabled older workers do not have even the limited options available to other older workers. Declining health is a major factor in fostering both voluntary and involuntary retirements and in promoting displacement. The loss of a job for any reason imposes special hardships on the older worker, since his opportunities for new employment are likely to be constricted. Yet, a proportion of older disabled individuals resists exclusion from the labor market through displacement or enforced retirement. Society's failure to provide remunerative work experiences for this group results in both economic loss to the nation and distress and despair for the older individual.

Although displaced vocationally motivated older disabled workers are in the minority, their needs are compelling and socially significant. Currently, relatively few community programs offer them constructive services leading to re-entry into employment. Primarily, most of the nation's energies are being directed toward enhancing vocational opportunities for youth and for adults whose disabilities are less vocationally handicapping. Yet, insofar as the older disabled worker is concerned, the losses suffered by the nation in terms of potential productivity and by the individual in terms of personal suffering are as real as the losses experienced by other vocationally disadvantaged groups. The prevention and remediation of these losses are a social challenge of the first order for American legislators and community leaders.

PENSION PROBLEMS

Currently, pensions do not eliminate the economic and psychosocial needs of vocationally-motivated older disabled persons for employment. In a project providing vocational services to this group, Federation Employment and Guidance Service (1963) found that social security and other retirement benefits were not adequate to meet moderate living expenses, thus compelling some older disabled individuals with ambivalent feelings about re-entering employment to seek vocational rehabilitation services. Furthermore, even in the absence of acute financial want, some clients had such strong psychosocial needs for work that income level was secondary to the psychic satisfactions derived from employment.

Trafton (1965) reported that 20 per cent of persons aged 65 andover were still engaged in employment covered by Old Age and SurvivorsInsurance. Eighty per cent of these employed aged individuals were recipients of social security benefits whose earnings apparently supplemented their OASI checks. As age increased in this group, fewer OASI beneficiaries continued to work. Among those who did, however, annual earnings tended to decline subsequent to the achievement of social security status. These data suggest that although social security benefits currently do not necessarily obviate the need for continuing employment of the vocationally-oriented older disabled person, it does result in reduced earnings and, presumably, restricts the extent and duration of vocational activity.

Private pensions are an important variable in the vocational adjustment of the older disabled worker. Segal (1963) reported that such pensions have aggregate assets of more than $60 billion and enroll more than 22 million workers. One of the major unsolved problems in relation to private pension plans is that of the displaced worker who is separated from his pensionable job as early as his 40's. Unless specific provisions are made for such workers, valuable pension rights tend to be lost as a consequence of displacement. This problem is especially critical for the disabled and for those who are employed in industries which are likely to undergo drastic technological changes as the years go by. Some displaced workers entering new jobs in their 50's and 60's do not qualify for pension plans established by their new employers. Among the solutions suggested in the literature are area-wide pension plans, portable pensions (which the worker takes with him as he changes jobs), vested pension rights (which are not lost if the individual leaves his job prior to retirement age), and early retirement plans financed through private funds.

Some writers favor a guaranteed income maintenance plan for older persons living on the poverty level. Although the precise effect of such arrangements on vocational motivation is not yet known, it may be assumed that an assurance of basic living standards will encourage some older workers to disengage themselves from the labor market but will have less effect upon others. It may be expected that a small group of disabled older individuals will continue to pursue employment goals despite a guaranteed standard of living to meet powerful psychosocial needs associated with work.

Improved pension systems and guaranteed income plans will probably make it easier and more comfortable for most older disabled persons to abandon the worker role and to enjoy retirement leisure. However, no matter how generous such grants may be, they will not terminate the vocational activities of some older disabled persons for whom additional security and income are desirable but not altogether satisfying.

LEGISLATION

Legislation enacted in 1920 and amended in 1943, 1955, and 1965 which established and expanded the Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation program, can be a powerful aid to the vocationally-motivated older disabled individual. Neither the legislation nor the procedures associated with this program contains age ceilings. Thus, aged adults who possess physical, intellectual, or emotional disabilities that constitute employment handicaps may qualify for a comprehensive evaluation of their vocational capacities, physical restoration, counseling, training, placement, follow-up, and other vocationally-oriented services. In practice, this valuable rehabilitation tool is often blunted by the disinclination of some agencies to provide full access to these services to older disabled persons. This attitude springs from emotional sources but may be defended by rehabilitation workers on the basis of the limited opportunities available in employment for older disabled persons, the alleged high costs of providing service to this group, and the belief that the post-rehabilitation career of the rehabilitated older person will be too short in duration to justify case costs. Evidence from special vocational rehabilitation projects for older disabled persons tend to refute these allegations (e.g. Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop, 1963). Indeed, more than a dozen specialized programs supported by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration have confirmed without dissent the economic and social feasibility of offering rehabilitation services to this group.

Legislative interest in the aged is being manifested on a widening scale. Recently, extensive congressional hearings culminated in the passage of the Older Americans Act of 1965 and the creation of the Administration on Aging as a constituent agency in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. There is reason to believe that the program of this latter agency will have a major impact upon service to older persons in the years ahead (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1965 and U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, 1963). Continuing federal interest is being shown in proposed legislation broadening counseling, training, and placement facilities for older workers, raising the level of earned income permitted under social security, and outlawing hiring bias on the basis of age. Job bias was dealt with especially firmly in S.1752 introduced into the first session of the 89th Congress (1965), which declared, in part:

> "The Congress hereby finds that the practice of discriminating in employment against properly qualified persons because of their age is contrary to American principles of liberty and equality of opportunity, is incompatible with the Constitution, deprives the United States of the fullest utilization of its capacities for production, endangers the general welfare and adversely affects the domestic and foreign commerce of the United States .... Hiring bias generally against workers over forty-five years of age deprives the nation of its most important resource of experienced employees, adds to the number of persons receiving public assistance, and deprives older persons of the dignity and status of self-support".

These observations, relevant to the disabled 45 years of age and over, are even more cogent for the older segment of this group.

Twenty-three states have enacted laws (mostly during the past ten years) which prohibit discrimination in private employment on the basis of age. This legislation varies in content but most attempt to eliminate one or more of the following practices: (1) refusal to interview aged persons regardless of their abilities, (2) denying older workers on-the-job training opportunities, (3) arbitrarily discharging employees who reach a certain age, (4) expelling older workers from a union, and (5) refusing to refer older workers to employment opportunities. Legal enforcement is usually preceded by educational programs, conferences, and conciliations in cases of alleged violations.

Gradually, a body of law is being created designed to protect the security and the rights of older individuals. Since these enactments in the area of employment are of relatively recent origin, their influence is still limited. A nation which already has passed measures to reduce competition in the labor market through facilitating retirement and which, simultaneously, guarantees employment options for older persons who prefer to remain in the labor market is likely to experience ambivalence in relation to the employment of its older citizens. The net result is the absence of a clear-cut and unequivocal commitment to vocational programming for the aged. At the moment, an uneasy balance exists between those who would encourage as many older persons as possible to withdraw from the labor market and those who would like to preserve the skills and use the talents of all workers, regardless of age, for the common good. Yet, if current legislative trends are a barometer of the future, we may expect more favorable vocational legislation on behalf of older disabled workers in the next decade.

CAPACITIES OF THE OLDER DISABLED WORKER

Some employer resistance to hiring older disabled workers springs from the belief that the work capacities of individuals 55 years of age and over have declined markedly over the years. Studies of the performance of older employees in various fields tend to contradict this stereotype. Among the favorable employment characteristics attributed to older workers in one or more investigations are:

1. Superior attendance records (Kelley, 1965; U.S. Department of Labor, 1957; Clark, 1959; Peterson, 1953).
2. Greater consciousness of safety factors accompanied by the occurrence of fewer accidents (Kelley, 1965).
3. High quality of production (Kelley, 1965; Clark, 1959; Peterson, 1953).
4. High work motivation (Over 60 Employment and Counseling Service of Northern Virginia, 1964; Peterson, 1953).
5. Responsiveness to counseling (Over 60 Employment and Counseling Service of Northern Virginia, 1964).
6. Unimpaired output (particularly in lower end of the older age range Clark, 1959; U.S. Department of Labor, 1960).
7. Steadier output (U.S. Department of Labor, 1960).
8. Retention of accuracy (U.S. Department of Labor, 1960).
9. Ability to get along well with fellow workers (Peterson, 1953).
10. Patience in working with others (Peterson, 1953).
11. Sufficient strength for most modern jobs (Peterson, 1953).
12. Experience and mature judgment (Maryland State Commission on the Aging, 1966).
13. Dependability and loyalty (Maryland State Commission on the Aging, 1966).

Counterbalancing these positives, some writers have noted vocational shortcomings in the aged, including:

1. Diminution of output, especially after age 65 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1956, 1957).
2. Despite lower injury rates, permanent impairment and slower healing are more likely to occur (Clark, 1959).
3. Loss of speed (Clark, 1959).
4. Loss of ability to acquire new skills (Clark, 1959; Kerrison, 1965).
5. Decreased responsiveness to pay incentives (U.S. Department of Labor, 1960).
6. Feelings of inferiority and loss of confidence (Kerrison, 1965).
7. Conservatism and fear of new ideas (Kerrison, 1965).

In general, when speed factors are neutralized, older workers tend to perform satisfactorily on measures of intellectual ability. Recent studies tend to confirm earlier work disproving the presumed inevitable decline in intelligence with advancing age. For example, Eisdorfer (1963) re-tested 165 aged volunteers from the Duke Geriatrics Project after a three-year interval. Results obtained on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale revealed little overall decline although there was some tendency toward regression toward the mean. Canestrari (1963) studied matched groups of 30 elderly and 30 younger males of comparable intellectual ability. The performance of the two groups was compared on paired-associate lists. Under time-pacing conditions, the older group did more poorly than the younger group. However, performance was equalized when the time factor was removed. However, under untimed conditions, the older group required more time to complete the task.

On the basis of investigations of individual work variables, a number of authors have commented about the functioning level of older persons in industry. The most frequent observation made is that older persons represent a broad range of individual differences and that functional work evaluations should take these variations into account (Kelley, 1965; U.S. Department of Labor, 1956, 1957). Another frequent conclusion is that employers tend to underestimate the work capacities of older individuals (Over 60 Employment and Counseling Service of Northern Virginia, 1964; U.S. Department of Labor, 1957). In a study of 160,000 job-seekers in seven labor markets, the U.S. Department of Labor (1956) found that older job applicants possessed more qualifications than younger ones. Furthermore, it was noted that older workers tended to be more stable in their employment, thus incurring lower training and recruitment costs. In a study of 5,100 workers in the men's footwear and household furniture industries, the U.S. Department of Labor concluded that age is not a basic indicator of job performance. Consequently, it was recommended that hiring should be conducted on the basis of an evaluation of individual capacities, rather than less reliable criteria. After a review of research, the Canadian Department of Labor arrived at the same generalization, recommending that the determining factor should be individual characteristics of the older worker as they relate to job demands. If necessary, attempts should be made in industry to modify one or both of these variables so as to enhance work capacity (Clark, 1959).

Similar findings have emerged from studies of non-industrial workers. The U.S. Department of Labor (1960) found that older clerical workers in government agencies tended to hold their own in relation to younger workers. Peterson (1953) reported that aged persons usually are successful in retailing jobs, noting that, currently, they are more capable of sustained production than older workers used to be in the past. It was suggested that the aged can be utilized productively without relying upon magnanimous employer attitudes. In a study of 738 scholars, scientists, and artists, Dennis (1966) found that creative output reached its peak in the 30's. Although both the scientists and the artists showed declines in their 70's, the scholars were as productive in their 70's as they had been in their 40's.

In the main, the evidence strongly suggests that, despite some deficits, older disabled workers who are employed selectively can be productive and useful employees. Without exception, authorities in the field reject the wisdom of blanket employment decisions based upon age alone, suggesting that individual differences contraindicate the acceptance of stereotypes. The selection of the proper worker for the job appears to be crucial in this matter. Some writers would go even further by converting unsuitable jobs into more suitable ones through industrial engineering techniques. Although job modification has been widely discussed, few studies have been performed in this area. In related approaches, it has been suggested that certain jobs should be reserved for older workers and that time and production pressures should be reduced for mature employees.

The conversion of full-time into part-time work opportunities is one area of job modification that merits further study. Using British Census data, Clark (1957) studied individuals who were employed 30 or fewer hours per week on a regular basis. He found that the need for part-time employment was greatest among male workers aged 70 and over. Various types of work differed in their possibilities for part-time employment with industrial positions offering the least flexibility and professional work and retailing the most. In this study, industries which permitted part-time participation tended to be more accepting of the employment of older persons, especially those with disabilities. Clark concluded that the establishment of a shorter work week in many industries will enable older workers to prolong their careers since such a shorter work period may approximate a part-time schedule for some individuals.

Industrial evaluations of the capacities of older workers usually are performed on an "as is" basis. That is, the worker is assessed for employment in the pre-rehabilitated state. Yet, both research and experience clearly indicate that readiness and capacity for employment can be enhanced through the provision of specific rehabilitation services. In a pioneer study supported by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Federation Employment and Guidance Service in New York City, cooperating with the New York State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, provided evaluation, counseling, training, and placement services to 835 older disabled individuals. The members of this group, whose average age was 63 years, had been unemployed for more than 18 months at the time of intake into the project. During this period of unemployment, despite strenuous efforts by the community and the client to locate job openings, placement did not materialize. Repeatedly, employers concluded that the capacities of these older disabled individuals were below their hiring standards and, consequently, denied them access to job openings. The FEGS vocational rehabilitation program found that current capacities are modifiable and that the readiness and skills of these older persons could be upgraded in most cases to meet industrial competitive standards, and that, with a vigorous placement program, many could be placed in industry. Clients who completed the FEGS program were successfully placed on one or more jobs in 80 per cent of the cases. The favorable results achieved in this project were duplicated subsequently in more than a dozen similar VRA-supported projects based upon the FEGS prototype.

Clark (1957), among others, advocated increased re-training for older workers. However, vocational re-training for this group is not always a simple matter. Problems of damaged feelings, learning deficits, family relationships, economic hardships during training, and self-derogating attitudes create rehabilitation needs that extend far beyond mere instruction in new processes. Aged individuals, particularly those with employment handicaps related to physical and/or emotional deficits, tend to need a more comprehensive vocational rehabilitation program. The Background Paper prepared for the White House Conference on Aging (1960), suggests that the most favorable approach to the employment problems of the disabled older person is one which involves the total person in a complex medical, social, psychological, *and* vocational treatment program. Since the ramifications of both the aging process and the disability envelop all aspects of the person, rehabilitation must be attempted through the medium of a wide-range ultidisciplinary approach.

Vocational rehabilitation for the older disabled person is only now coming under systematic study. Gray, Kesler, and Newman (1964) found that the life situation of the older disabled person is so full of discouragement and disappointment that there is widespread hesitation to become involved in a rehabilitation program. As a consequence, many of these people have to be motivated to abandon the role of "sick" person, substituting therefore the role of the self-sustaining individual. In a study of 109 older disabled persons, the authors found that:

1. Men tended to enter rehabilitation more freely than women.
2. Patients with financial difficulties expressed greater interest in rehabilitation than those who were more affluent.
3. Motivation for rehabilitation was positively associated with such variables as being at the younger end of the age scale, having a better education, and enjoying good marriages and happy family situations.
4. The degree of disability was not related to an individual's willingness to engage in rehabilitation.

Larson (1965), in noting that the older disabled client can benefit from vocational rehabilitation services, found that a lower salary and a lower status may have to be accepted subsequent to rehabilitation. In some cases, where remunerative work is not feasible, volunteer non-paid activity may be a desirable alternative. Larson advocated the incorporation of work relocation and work training programs into vocational rehabilitation programs for older disabled persons.

The literature suggests that much needs to be done both in retooling industry for the older disabled worker and in retooling the older disabled worker for industry. New approaches are needed to achieve more effective adjustments in jobs as well as workers. Perhaps, a system of incentives, encouragements, or compulsions, would help industry to adapt its procedures to meet the special needs of older workers. Other promising areas that should be explored are re-engineering of jobs to make them commensurate with individual capacities, reserving selected jobs for older workers, gradually reducing work hours and work load, and exempting the older disabled individual from time pressures. If borne by the employer alone, the costs of instituting one or more of these changes will place him at a competitive disadvantage. Consequently, outside funding is needed to facilitate and encourage the retooling process in industry.

Even among the professionals, however, many rehabilitation workers are still overly pessimistic concerning the work capacities and potentialities of older disabled workers. Despite mounting evidence that vocational rehabilitation services can restore adequate vocational capacity to many older disabled persons, some rehabilitation counselors persist in regarding their older disabled clients as doubtful candidates. As a group, counselors are not immune to the prevailing attitudes toward older disabled workers and, in their earnest effort to establish a good record of successfully closed cases, they may be unwilling to take the realistically modest risks that are required to provide vocational rehabilitation service to disabled aged persons. Many counselors need to be educated to the values of serving older disabled clients through improved supervision and training. Although counselor attitudes are crucial, other measures may be helpful in enhancing counselor functioning vis-a-vis older disabled workers, including performance ratings that reward them for success with these clients, improved community vocational facilities for the aged, and easy access to consultative and supportive resources.

EXPANDING VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE OLDER DISABLED PERSON

Unemployment among older workers is generally higher than among workers of other age groups. Since the number of job openings for older persons falls short of the demand for such jobs, rehabilitation efforts should be accompanied by extensive job development programs. Some job development occurs as older workers prove themselves in industry, hopefully modifying employer attitudes in a favorable direction. However, this spontaneous process takes time and occurs in an unplanned fashion. As a consequence, additional and more systematic measures are needed to create a larger pool of job opportunities for older disabled workers.

Noting that one out of three men, aged 65 and over, work less than a full day, Kent (1963) suggested two possibilities for widening part-time job opportunities for the aged: (1) homemaker projects and (2) sheltered workshops. The values of reducing the work week were noted by the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Retirement Income of the United States Congress (1964) by reference to successful state employment service programs in New York and California for finding part-time and seasonal jobs for the aged. Among the occupations which give the greatest promise for further development in relation to part-time service are school aide, homemaking, community activities, and social service. Additional research is needed to identify favorable part-time and seasonal placement possibilities for older disabled individuals.

Job redesign is still another means of widening job opportunities for the elderly in the existing occupational structure. Through personal interest, a sense of obligation, or long-standing policy, some employers set aside selected jobs for the elderly. Going well beyond this, some expend time and funds redesigning certain jobs to meet the needs of their aging workers. As a rule, employer-initiated job redesign tends to occur during periods of full employment when "marginal" workers are absorbed into the working force in increasingly large numbers. Thus, in most cases, the frequence with which job redesign is undertaken is related to the balance that exists at any time between the number of job openings and the number of suitable job applicants.

Barkin (1952) established general guidelines for job redesign that have relevance for older disabled workers. Jobs which have a high component of strenuous labor, time stress, and rapid technological change tend to be unsuitable for modification. On the other hand, more favorable job redesign opportunities may be found in machine work that does not emphasize quick reaction time, unskilled and maintenance jobs, and handicrafts. In addition, Barkin suggested that, generally, an increased use of modern management techniques, especially increased mechanization and improved plant lay-outs will benefit older workers in creating working conditions that are more adapted to their needs.

In this regard, The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1965) offered several practical guidelines for job redesign for older workers, including:

1. Programs of re-education should be conducted throughout a worker's career, especially in relation to the changing technology.
2. Job redesign should be planned that serves not only the older worker, but others as well, thus contributing to economic growth, in general.
3. Job redesign should capitalize upon the assets of older workers, especially experience and judgment.
4. Job redesign should be based upon job analysis and research into the changes in capacity associated with the aging process.

The Organization suggested that job redesign for the elderly should take into account current knowledge about aging, including:

1. Muscular strength, breathing capacity, and cardiac output begin to decline as early as the 20's and 30's.
2. Great numbers of older workers drop out of jobs that require perceptual skills, suggesting that job redesign should reduce the demand for this ability, insofar as possible.
3. As age proceeds, a shift should take place from an emphasis on speed to an emphasis on accuracy.
4. Decision-making and memory faculties tend to decline with age.
5. Redesigned jobs should provide greater opportunities for self-pacing and frequent rest periods.

In another paper, The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD Observer, 1964) pointed out that the normal course of industrial mechanization does not necessarily favor the older worker.

Although technological change may result in a lower demand for capacities that involve physical strain, it may simultaneously elevate the demand for complex perceptual skills, an area in which some decline is likely to occur as one ages. Job redesign generally is preferred to job transfer in the employment of older workers since the latter may result in self-devaluation, reduction in status, frustration, and waste of valuable skills and experience. On the other hand, job redesign tends to reduce job turnover, builds on existing skills, lessens the need for extensive worker readjustment, and improves job performance and satisfaction.

Increased community agency activity in job development is suggested as another approach to expansion of job opportunities for the aged. The Community Service Society of New York (1965) described some practical steps that already have been taken in this direction:

1. State employment services have promoted the employment of aged persons in such areas as homemaking, home repair, maintenance gardening, and walking tour guides.
2. Demonstration projects sponsored by the United States Department of Labor have opened new job opportunities in aide, helper, and home visitor jobs.
3. Antipoverty programs and local private groups have explored numerous other aspects of community service as occupational fields for the aging.

The Subcommittee on Employment and Retirement Incomes of the Special Committee on Aging of the United States Senate (1964) recommended the following specific measures for stimulating job development for the aged in local communities:

1. Expanded state employment service programs for the aged, especially in the part-time field.
2. Additional research to discover new job areas that may be suitable for older workers.
3. Appropriations of federal funds to support voluntary agency programs for finding jobs for the elderly.
4. The initiation of a "National Employ the Older Worker Week."

Suggestions have been made for stepped-up job development activities for older persons in non-competitive occupations. For example, Reingold (1964) described a sheltered workshop program for the residents of a home for the aged in which productive work was made available to individuals in their 80's and beyond. Similar programs will be discussed in the section of this review concerned with sheltered workshops. Another non-competitive alternative is that of providing needed community services that currently are not available. Typical programs of this type have focused on such fields as foster grandparents, teachers' aides, homemaking helpers, friendly visitors, and training assistants (Pennsylvania Citizens Council, 1965).

Thune (1964) reported on a study conducted to ascertain the performance level of persons 60 years of age and over in community service programs. It was found that age was not a factor in determining job success in this situation. However, employability was correlated positively with educational level, a past history of participation in community service activities, strong ego defenses, and a success orientation. As a nonremunerative alternative, Odell (1962) urged that retired workers should be retrained for voluntary community activities subsequent to retirement. He felt that such training would restore the individual's productivity and place it at the disposal of the community.

Suggestions for developing new employment opportunities for the aged generally fall into two categories: (1) those which stress the allotment of a greater proportion of existing competitive jobs to the elderly, and (2) those which suggest opening new fields of endeavor which would avoid bringing older persons into competition with younger workers. The solutions, stressing an increased allotment of existing jobs, (job redesign, stepped-up placement programs, transfer to more suitable jobs, etc.) are most feasible in a labor shortage economy when older persons possess the desired skills. Typically, openings for full-time, part-time, and seasonal jobs are most available for the aged when younger workers are engaged in other employment or preoccupied with school. Thus, the older worker is often at the mercy of the economic cycle and employer attitudes which tend to favor competing younger job applicants. Despite this competition, older workers, disabled or not, have an equal claim to suitable jobs, and, to the extent that they are disadvantaged in the job-seeking process, they are entitled to reasonable community assistance in qualifying for such jobs.

On the other hand, some older disabled persons fare so badly in this competition for jobs owing to economic conditions, inadequate services, or the nature of their limitations that they need special entree to non-competitive sheltered workshop and community service jobs. Unfortunately, these alternatives are still in an early stage of their development. However, the tentative findings reported are so positive that they justify extensive demonstration and research projects designed to test further the values of sheltered and community service employment under a variety of conditions. Although remunerative activities are preferred by vocationally-oriented older disabled persons, volunteer possibilities should be explored if paid work is not available. Whether renumerative or not, the community service sector constitutes a bright spot for the older disabled person who needs an active involvement in his environment, the ramifications of which are still untested. On the face of it, community service and sheltered workshop opportunities for selected older workers who cannot be absorbed in competitive industry can well be a desirable alternative to excessive job competition with younger workers or enforced idleness. During the next decade, the degree to which this promise can be realized will be tested on a broad scale.

VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

The need for vocational counseling among older workers is well-documented in the literature. In one study (Morris, 1961), it was found that only 22 per cent of employed individuals over 60 years of age indicated that they looked forward to retirement. More than half of these subjects clearly disliked the idea. Even among those favoring retirement, many might have wanted to continue in employment had they not had health problems. Morris also reported that only 35 per cent of one group of retired individuals felt that stopping work had been good for them. The need for counseling in this group was suggested by the high incidence of such retirement problems as finding satisfactory activities with which to occupy their time, the loss of work-centered interpersonal associations, and the need to become accustomed to a new daily routine subsequent to stopping work. Retirement was most appealing to those who had both adequate health and income and who had cultivated many interests before stopping work. The advice that these retirees would give others in a similar situation was to continue working as long as possible. Morris suggested that pre-retirement counseling could have prevented many of these problems by assisting the older person to anticipate and prepare for his new status. Odell (1955) attributed the widespread need for vocational counseling among the aged to their special problems in the labor market. Thus, one out of three job applicants is over 45 years of age, but only one out of seven job placements is made in this age group. Counseling provided while the older person is still on the job helps to anticipate difficulties and prevent subsequent vocational maladjustment. Odell reported that twice as many older persons who are counseled obtain jobs than those who do not receive this service.

Although pre-retirement counseling is widely recommended, it has not yet been widely adopted in American industry. In a survey of one hundred firms in West Virginia, Kricely (1965) found few firms with preretirement counseling programs. However, in one chemical plant, pre-retirement counseling included:

1. Initial counseling contacts made ten years prior to actual retirement (usually at age 55).
2. Emphasis upon financial planning for the retirement period.
3. Counseling contacts with the worker during the post-retirement period.

Vocational counseling programs designed especially for older job-seekers are almost equally rare. Wilson (1961) described a program which has been conducted in Cleveland, Ohio since 1949 for counseling unemployed aged workers. One vocational counselor handling some 100 to 150 older clients a month provides counseling rather than direct placement. Despite the emphasis on counseling, about one-third of these counselees found employment. The counseling content in this program included both personal matters and suggestions for job-hunting. Group methods have been reported to be successful in at least one counseling program for older individuals. Leitch (1957), in a follow-up study subsequent to a group approach, received questionnaire responses from 31 participants, 26 of whom indicated a sense of having benefited from the group experience. These older persons seemed more ready to accept advice and criticism from their peers than from a younger person serving as their counselor.

Most of the vocational counseling literature relating to older persons concerns programs rather than techniques. The assumption seems to be that the counseling process with older disabled persons is not very different from that used with other individuals. Yet, some differences are mentioned. For example Goodstein (1961) offered the following observations:

1. The older counselee presents so many difficult and complicated problems that the counselor initially may feel that the situation is hopeless.
2. Owing to current social flux and the ambiguous position of the aged in American society, the counselor does not have available to him culturally-determined ready-made solutions. In response to this situation, many counselors are hard-pressed to evolve original solutions to counselees' problems.
3. Older counselees tend to bring a bleak outlook and a negative self-concept into the counseling situation. This loss of hope can deter them in using counseling assistance.
4. Most counselors have acquired their professional experience in service to younger clients who tend to enter counseling with the expectation that a wiser, more mature individual will draw upon his superior background to guide them. In counseling the aged, the maturity and experience balance is reversed, a situation that is not entirely comfortable either for the counselor or the counselee.
5. An important source of counseling difficulty for the older counselee is that he is put in the position of asking for help from a younger and less experienced person. The counselor, aware of this, himself may feel uncertain and inexperienced in the situation. Thus, age-role relationships affect both participants in the counseling process, evoking significant transference and counter-transference attitudes on "both sides of the desk."
6. Older clients often feel that some of their problems result from the nature of the changing world, and perceiving the younger counselor as a representative of that world, they may, in some way, hold him responsible for the problem. Such perceptions may complicate the process of developing a professional relationship with a disabled older worker.
7. Unconscious counselor attitudes toward aged persons may reduce the counselor's effectiveness in the relationship. For example, without being aware of it, the counselor may feel anxious because the client represents what he, the counselor, will be like in the future, or he may generalize his own unresolved problems vis-a-vis parents to the older client whom he unconsciously views as an aged parent.
8. Counseling success is often measured in terms of the long-term pervasive behavioral changes that occur in clients. Yet, dramatic changes of this type rarely occur in work with aged persons. The limited results that actually do occur fail to generate in the counselor a sense of possessing "magical" powers. In the absence of such feelings, some counselors may actually feel resentment toward aged counselees.

9. Most counselors are imbued with a longitudinal or genetic view of the counselee, an approach that is less tenable in serving older counselees. Indeed, Goodstein suggested that counselors will have to learn to live with more limited and immediate counseling goals, such as integrating and accepting life as it has been lived, planning for the immediate future, and achieving tranquility.

Goodstein argued that, in addition to being accepting, warm, and positive, the counselor of the aged worker must recognize his own unconscious distortions and how they may interfere with his counseling activities. This is especially true of the counselor's attitudes toward illness and death.

The almost universal acknowledgement of the need for additional vocational counseling for older disabled persons has not yet resulted in the development of extensive counseling programs for this client group. With few exceptions, aged persons with vocational problems are called upon to work them through somehow with their own resources. In the few instances in which vocational counseling services are available, the approach seems to be informational and directive, with placement, rather than adjustment, being stressed.

The lag in vocational counseling for the aged seems to be related to such deterrents as a community-wide feeling that older persons really do not need vocational counseling since it is better for them to withdraw gracefully from the world of work, a sense of hopelessness about what can be done professionally for older vocationally-motivated disabled persons, and a preoccupation in America with the vocational needs of youth. The consequences are critical for many older persons since, despite their need for vocational guidance, most community counseling doors are closed to them.

Even when counseling does become accessible to the older person, it may be reduced in effectiveness by reason of the training, background, experience, and transference attitudes of the counselor. Relatively little work has been reported concerning the counseling process with this age group. However, Goodstein's analysis suggests that both counselor and counselee bring significant feelings related to age differentials into the process, thus complicating the formation of a professional relationship. Apparently, counselors serving the aged should be selected only after their attitudes toward illness, death, and aging are known, and, once selected, they should be supervised closely, given both pre-service and in-service training in vocational counseling with the aged. Future research may confirm a need for a counseling specialty in vocational service to older disabled persons.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

There is general agreement in the literature that older persons tend to be more successful in the labor market when provided with additional education and training. Linton (1964) described some of the educational disadvantages under which older individuals operate in their quest for employment, noting that one-fifth of those 65 and over had only five years of schooling or less. He suggested that vocational re-training coupled with education for creative living would enable a greater proportion of the aged to use their physical and mental abilities more fully and render them more employable in the current job market.

Questions have been raised about the readiness of most older persons for additional formal learning experiences. Such doubts seem to be based upon presumed limitations in learning ability and limited motivation for education among older individuals. Little evidence supports these presumptions. Attempts to expose older persons to academic learning experience have been increasing in recent years in the belief that involvement in a learning process tends to retard intellectual and emotional deterioration among the aged (Florida University Institute of Gerontology, 1963). Wolfe (1963) studied two groups of older men and women in relation to personal adjustment and educational activities. It was found that school grade completed was not related to an individual's participation in study activities during the later years. However, those having a more favorable personal adjustment read more frequently for the purpose of learning, enrolled more often in educational courses and programs, and assumed more active membership and leadership roles in community organizations than individuals in the less well-adjusted group. A cause and effect relationship between adjustment and learning activities was not established in this report.

There is a tendency to attribute learning difficulties among the aged to psychological rather than physiological factors. Williams (1965-6) identified four of these psychological factors as: (1) loss of social status, (2) discomfort in the relationship that exists between older trainees and their younger instructors, (3) personal re-adjustment problems, and (4) the failure to provide the older learner with opportunities to pace himself. In another paper, Williams (1963) suggested two other social barriers to new learning among the aged: (1) possible criticism from younger workers who do not encourage the re-training of the aged, and (2) the fact that entry into re-training may require the older individual to give up valued leisure time. In view of the satisfactory training performance of most older workers and the values that they derive from learning, re-training should be undertaken in industry, wherever possible, but under learning conditions adapted to the older person. Among these conditions are: (1) avoidance of training in groups composed predominantly of younger workers, (2) acknowledgment during training of the older person's former job status, (3) the provision of extra training time, where needed, and (4) emphasis on accuracy rather than speed.

The training dilemma of older workers is exemplified by the finding of the United States Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training (1963) that, although older workers constitute 30 per cent of the total unemployed population, only 11 per cent of those enrolled in MDTA training programs were in this age group. This situation exists despite the fact that older individuals probably need re-training as much as younger workers. One barrier to the utilization of MDTA training resources by the aged is thought to be their relatively low level of educational achievement.

A number of solutions have been suggested to the re-training problems of older workers, including:

1. Improved professional training programs to make counselors more sensitive to the needs of older workers and more capable of guiding them into suitable training (National Council on the Aging, 1966).
2. Revision of training programs to adapt them to the special needs of older learners. One step in this direction would be a shift from training procedures that are job-oriented to those which are people-oriented (National Council on the Aging, 1966).
3. The substitution of observation for test results as a major criterion for determining eligibility for training (National Council on the Aging, 1966).
4. Providing training in a climate of acceptance and encouragement (Williams, 1965-6).
5. Conducting training activities in cooperation with the community agencies, government, business, and labor so as to make the program realistic and maximize the possibilities for employment subsequent to the completion of training (National Council on the Aging, 1962; Messina, 1965; Becker, 1965).
6. Company-financed re-training programs prior to actual job displacement, giving the older worker a feeling that his company is still interested in him and creating a favorable psychological situation for relearning (National Council on the Aging, 1962).
7. The provision of supplementary services during re-training, such as medical examinations and treatment, psychological evaluation, and paid homemaker services (Messina, 1965).
8. The use of new electronic teaching devices such as closed-circuit television (Messina, 1965).

The most effective training programs for older workers are reputed to be those that mobilize the total community in both planning and implementation. Especially recommended in this regard is a cooperative relationship among industry, labor, the state employment service, and federal, state, and local training agencies. Within such a partnership, re-training programs for older persons can be developed which include counseling performed in the client's customary environment, outreach to interest older persons in undergoing training, group counseling, self-help techniques, on-the-job training arrangements, and extensive use of volunteer and part-time trainers.

Although a few recently-developed training programs for older persons have been disappointments, the literature generally abounds with citations of highly favorable results. The most favorable results seem to occur when training programs are planned with the specific needs of the older worker clearly in mind. For example, as a result of a close collaboration between state agencies and organizations of private citizens, the Arkansas Older Worker Training Program succeeded in returning 90 per cent of its aged trainees into suitable employment (Beard, 1961). Using vocational education funds primarily, this project organized small classes in home care, companion service, and retailing, occupational areas in which there was a local need for workers. Older workers entered the program subsequent to aptitude testing and counseling interviews. A strong placement service, available during and subsequent to training, was an influential factor in the success of the program.

Favorable training results were also reported in an MDTA training program in the Yakima Valley in the State of Washington, an area which had been experiencing a decline in the need for agricultural labor. Through the participation of local employers and labor unions, an eight-week sales training program was organized for vocationally displaced individuals. The trainees, mostly older persons whose skills had become obsolete and whose capacities had undergone changes, were trained in groups consisting of 25 or fewer individuals. At the completion of training, 141 out of 168 trainees found appropriate employment. In South Bend, Indiana, displaced workers over 50 were retrained after losing their jobs as a result of the closing of an important local plant. Imaginative planning and programming enabled 406 re-trained individuals to achieve placement in new jobs (National Council on the Aging, 1963-4). The major problems encountered in this enterprise were time delays in organizing the community and in obtaining funds for the program.

The New Jersey Employment Security Office offered adult education and vocational training to unemployed older workers in cooperation with MDTA, using a workshop which oriented trainees to job-hunting techniques and which adjusted work hours and other job conditions to family needs. This program trained mature women in health, hospital, homemaker, and library services, with special emphasis on part-time and temporary employment (Added Years, the Newsletter of the New Jersey State Division on Aging, 1966). A San Francisco group organized training programs to offset unemployment among workers 45 years of age and over in that city. Among the training areas stressed were merchandise wrapping in department stores, maintenance gardening, and guiding tourists on walking tours. As a result of the San Francisco experience, a number of suggestions were issued relative to training procedures for older workers:

1. Training should be closely coordinated with actual job orders submitted by employers and uncovered by job development programs.
2. Work standards for all jobs should be established prior to the initiation of a training program in a specific area, e.g. a definite rate of pay should be set.
3. Trainees should be recruited from local state employment offices and other sources located near the sites of job vacancies.
4. A definite training curriculum should be developed in each area and should be taught by competent instructors.
5. Insofar as possible, placement should be made immediately after training has been completed.
6. The program should have clear administrative lines, with a single director responsible for both training and job development.

Using this approach, the San Francisco project resulted in a high rate of trainee placement, creating generalized satisfaction throughout the community. The Lansing (Michigan) Adult Education Center offered 34 unemployed older disabled workers two four-hour training sessions in retail selling. Subsequent to training, most of the trainees found employment during the Christmas season rush and, in some cases, their work was so satisfactory that the employers planned to retain them beyond the rush season (McMichael, 1961). Reporting on a similar retail sales training program for older workers in Lansing, Michigan, Guimond (1963) found that 28 out of 35 trained individuals found seasonal employment in three leading department stores.

Training projects for women 45 years of age and over in Worcester and Boston, Massachusetts, stressing community organization and cooperation, achieved success by conducting public forums to recruit workers, obtaining training rooms in public schools, disseminating program information through news media, and pooling information, ideas, and referrals with employers, government offices, and private agencies (Archambault, 1957).

In general, successful training programs appear to contain the following components:

1. The development of cooperative efforts with a variety of community groups (Archambault, 1957; Kruger, 1962).
2. Providing training in occupational areas which are currently experiencing labor shortages (Kruger, 1962).
3. Wherever literacy skills are essential, offering basic education to supplement skills training (Kruger, 1962).
4. Providing in-service training for instructors (Arnold, 1965).
5. Using funds from such agencies as the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training and the Vocational Education Act of 1963 to conduct demonstration and experimental programs (Kruger, 1962).
6. Conducting job development campaigns to open new occupational fields to older workers (Kearney, 1962).

A few reports in the literature describe training programs conducted for older disabled workers. At Federation Employment and Guidance Service, most of the vocationally-motivated older disabled persons served in a vocational rehabilitation program were able to master selected industrial skills without major difficulty. This finding was as relevant for homemakers who had never worked for pay before and for white collar groups as it was for individuals whose careers had been spent in factory jobs (Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop, 1963). The trainability of older disabled workers was confirmed in programs conducted in more than a dozen other agencies throughout the United States which followed the prototype established by FEGS.

The reports summarized indicate that theoretical considerations of the motivation and learning potential of vocationally motivated older disabled individuals are not as important in predicting training success as actual training tryouts. Not infrequently, participation in a training program brings out unexpected qualities in such individuals. Although some trainees aged 60 and over require special adjustments in training programs such as more patient instruction, additional time and counseling, and assistance with nonvocational problems, those needs usually do not constitute impermeable barriers to training success. A well-designed community-supported vocational training program usually places most of its graduates in industry.

As in the case of other services, a viable vocational training program for older disabled persons requires effective community organization, with special emphasis on the coordination of training resources in schools, labor unions, industrial firms, social agencies, and government groups. Communities, which in addition to organizing themselves to take advantage of existing facilities, and which also undertake demonstrations and experiments appear to enjoy special success in their endeavors. Community apathy seems to be the major deterrent to successful re-training. Many communities, preoccupied with the problems of more visible or vocal groups, fail to engage themselves in the establishment of training programs for older disabled workers. Under such circumstances, older disabled persons are denied opportunities to demonstrate their real capacity for learning new skills and their ability to obtain and hold suitable jobs.

SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

The sheltered workshop is becoming an increasingly prominent component in vocational rehabilitation programs for older disabled persons. Through participation in remunerative work under controlled conditions, an older disabled person may derive such benefits as maintenance or improvement of physical or mental health, improved alertness and morale, greater work tolerance, more useful work skills, and a more meaningful relationship to work (Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop, 1963). The sheltered workshop has many faces. Black (1965) noted three major areas in the adjustment of disabled persons which can be influenced by a sheltered workshop experience:

1. The socio-economic area in which the workshop provides an "in-group" place for those who otherwise would function on the periphery of community life.
2. The public health area in which the workshop facilitates the comprehensive care of disabled persons.
3. The economic role in which the workshop, functioning as a business enterprise, provides employment and contributes to the productive effort of the community.

The Journal of Rehabilitation (1965) in a special issue devoted to sheltered workshops described five major rehabilitation emphases found in workshop facilities:

1. Prevocational and vocational evaluation.
2. Personal and social adjustment.
3. Development of work habits and work experience.
4. Vocational training and job placement.
5. Progress toward normal living in the community.

It is estimated that there are about 800 sheltered workshops in the United States. Although most of them are independent enterprises, sponsored by rehabilitation centers, community agencies and hospitals, a considerable number are sponsored by organizations affiliated with agency networks such as National Industries for the Blind, the National Association for Retarded Children, the Jewish Occupational Council, Goodwill Industries of America, and the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults. In addition to remunerative work, many workshops offer supportive services in the medical, educational, and psychosocial areas, often in cooperation with other community groups. Usually, their ultimate aim is to assist disabled persons to achieve social and vocational adjustment in the community and to eliminate or reduce dependency. Although almost all of these workshops accept a few older disabled clients, only a small number offer special programs for the aged. In general, sheltered workshops associated with long-term health care facilities, e.g. hospitals for the chronically ill, are more likely to serve a higher proportion of older disabled individuals (Mahan, 1963).

Federation Employment and Guidance Service initiated a pioneering sheltered workshop for older disabled persons in 1957 (Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop, 1963). Providing vocational evaluation, counseling, personal adjustment training, placement in industry, and long-term workshop employment in a centrally-based facility (and later, in two neighborhood-based programs), Federation Employment and Guidance Service demonstrated the feasibility of assisting older disabled persons to achieve enhanced vocational adjustment through participation in a workshop-focused vocational rehabilitation program. After demonstrating a successful program serving mobile individuals, FEGS extended its services in 1962 to older disabled persons who were so severely limited that they could not leave their neighborhoods or their homes on a regular basis to engage in vocational activities. Providing such individuals with rehabilitative services plus long-term employment in a sheltered setting, FEGS found that even very severely disabled vocationally-motivated disabled older persons can benefit substantially from a well-organized sheltered workshop experience.

A Kansas City program based on the FEGS prototype noted above (Kansas City, Missouri, Jewish Vocational Service, 1965) incorporated a sheltered workshop as part of a total vocational rehabilitation program for disabled individuals 60 years of age and over. The Kansas City effort was reported to have served 187 clients, of whom 120 achieved employment. Only twenty-one clients were unemployable or unplaceable. Progress was reported not only in the productivity and the vocational readiness of these clients, but also in terms of growing independence, improved work habits, better relationships with co-workers and supervisors, and elevated levels of self-care. A special need for medical participation in the program was noted, a finding in accordance with observations reported by Brightman (1963).

The proliferation of sheltered workshops in the United States has been one of the most significant rehabilitation developments of the 1960's. Although most of the new workshops are community-based, there is also a trend toward developing workshops within institutional frameworks. One of the most promising developments in this area has been the emergence of demonstration sheltered workshops in homes for the aged. Reingold (1966) noted that the traumatic loss of accustomed roles associated with the aging process is especially evident in homes for the aged. Although many institutional services have been devised to counteract this identity crisis in aged residents, the institution-based sheltered workshop appears to be one of the most successful means of enhancing self-regard.

In an early workshop of this type at the Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale (Reingold, 1964), a group of residents (average age: 82) was offered an opportunity to participate in a sheltered workshop program designed specifically for them. Despite advanced age (up to 101 years) and multiple severe disabilities, about 25 per cent of the residents applied for, and were capable of, participation in the remunerative work program. Through working on subcontract tasks, these aged persons achieved multiple psychosocial gains, producing at levels of quantity and quality that met workshop standards. Remuneration was on a piece-work basis with each worker receiving the same rate per piece that was paid in unsheltered industry in the community for the same type of work. The average worker participated five days per week for three hours per day with relatively few absences.

Among the benefits reported were:

1. The acquisition of a sense of prestige and usefulness.
2. Improvement in family relationships (although a few families resisted the growing economic and social independence of the older individual).
3. A growing enthusiasm for the sheltered workshop service on the part of the staff of the Home.

It should be noted that since the appearance of Reingold's article in 1964, the Hebrew Home project was completed. The results were so favorable that the service has been incorporated into the on-going program at the Home (Rusalem, 1966). Currently, the institution, assisted by a grant from the National Institute for Mental Health, is extending the program to a group of mentally impaired older residents.

In a discussion of the place of the sheltered workshop in nursing homes and homes for the aged, Shore (1966) observed that participation in a workshop program tends to result in the following benefits for the older person: (1) a sense of continuity with one's work in the past, (2) improved morale and prestige, and (3) increased work tolerance. Although these benefits are substantial, institutional sheltered workshops do create certain administrative problems, including: (1) a need for financial subsidies for materials and staff, (2) stress and tension in meeting production deadlines for contract work, and (3) possible responsibility for accidents and health problems that may occur in the course of workshop participation.

Sheltered workshop programs for the aged have appeared in Europe as well as in the United States. Coons (1964) described independent workshops in England and the Netherlands which, in the American tradition, base their activities on contracts obtained from industrial firms. Both the English and the Scandinavians seem to have made good progress in establishing sheltered workshops in mental institutions. Such workshops appear to raise discharge rates, especially among patients who failed to respond to other types of treatment. One of the interesting trends observed in England, Sweden, and Holland was the establishment of auxiliary plants by private firms for groups of disabled persons. These semi-sheltered facilities are especially useful in providing work opportunities for older and other disabled employees having a history of service to the company.

The sheltered workshop experiments for older disabled persons conducted in the United States uniformly confirm the value of such a service for vocationally-motivated individuals who, for reasons of health, productive abilities, or community resistance, cannot find suitable employment in industry. Reports issuing from these workshops indicate that the participants consistently derive extensive economic and non-economic benefits from the sheltered work experience. Indeed, in addition to improved client morale, alertness, and interest in living, values accrue to the family and the community as well. Case materials drawn from the files of Federation Employment and Guidance Service reveal a recurring positive response to workshop activities both by clients and their families.

Despite unvaryingly favorable reports, most older disabled persons in the United States who could benefit from sheltered workshop experiences in the community or in institutions do not have such facilities available to them. Public apathy, negative attitudes toward participation in work by older disabled persons, and a lack of organizational drive tend to retard sheltered workshops for older disabled persons. Yet, despite such built-in problems as modest client earnings, the need for subsidies, and the lack of suitable white collar tasks, sheltered workshops, when used selectively in conjunction with other vocational services, can be a relatively trouble-free vocational outlet for certain vocational needs among the aged. The deterrents are mainly community timidity, apathy, and insensitivity.

PLACEMENT

The age at which a person becomes occupationally old varies according to the industry and the occupation concerned. Employment difficulties related to aging arise as early as the 30's in certain fields. By the time most workers are in their 50's, regardless of occupation, new jobs become harder to obtain (U.S. Department of Labor, 1956). An obvious physical disability in an aged person complicates the job-finding task even further. Under these circumstances, satisfactory self-placement without professional intervention becomes increasingly unlikely. As a result, most vocational rehabilitation programs for older disabled persons contain a strong placement component as a capstone to the other services offered. Vocational specialists in vocational programming for the aged generally agree that a differentiated placement service for this group is desirable both in state employment offices and in community rehabilitation programs (Over 60 Employment and Counseling Service of Northern Virginia, 1964).

State employment services have shown an increasing interest in older job applicants. The Bureau of Employment Security of the United States

Department of Labor after studying 7,361 job applicants 45 years of age and over in seven state employment security offices, found a high incidence of physical disability among the aged clients surveyed. A majority of the older job applicants were males and had an eighth grade education or less. Job orders containing age ceilings were found to be common in these state agencies, especially in clerical and unskilled jobs. The least frequent discrimination appeared in skilled and service jobs. Age restrictions in most occupational groups began to appear in the age range 35 to 44 years, both for males and females. Large business enterprises had more age restrictions than small ones.

The older job-seeker often is confronted by two sets of problems: (1) those that realistically limit his value to an employer and (2) those that exist in the employer's mind but are not fully verified by research and experience. Some of the reality factors are decrements in certain work-related abilities, obsolete skills, and, in some older job applicants, limited education (Lawrence, 1958). Although these characteristics apply to some aged job-seekers in some job situations, their importance is exaggerated by well-entrenched employer shibboleths and dogmas. The United States Department of Labor (1956) reported on employer feelings that tend to bar older workers from appropriate job opportunities. According to this study, the following characteristics frequently are attributed to older workers:

1. Low productivity.
2. High rate of absenteeism.
3. Physical impairment interfering with the performance of work functions.
4. Lack of flexibility creating training problems.
5. Increased pension and insurance costs.
6. Limited work-life expectancy.

Since these attitudes are rarely based entirely upon fact, placement specialists recommend that employer contacts should focus, in part, upon educating employers about the vocational potentialities of older workers. Educational activities of this type are suggested both in face-to-face relationships during routine placement efforts as well as through the use of mass media of communication (Over 60 Employment and Counseling Service of Northern Virginia, 1964).

The structure of a local placement service for older disabled workers will vary from community to community, depending upon local resources, interest, and traditions. However, certain elements of effective programming are mentioned with some frequency in the literature. Among these are:

1. The use of trained employment specialists in the placement of the aged (Levine, 1965; Sobel, 1963; Jeffrey, 1957).
2. Specific provisions for locating part-time employment opportunities (Levine, 1965).
3. The use of volunteer job solicitors on a planned basis (Levine, 1965).

4. Coordination with training projects in the community, e.g. MDTA, anti-poverty programs, and rehabilitation services (Levine, 1965; United States Department of Agriculture, 1964; National Council on Aging, 1964).

5. Direct contacts with employers to develop job orders (Levine, 1965).

6. The promotion of older worker self-help groups (Levine, 1965; Sobel, 1963; National Council on Aging, 1964).

7. The use of Federal funds for experimental programs (Sobel, 1963).

8. Extensive cooperation contacts with state divisions of vocational rehabilitation (Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop, 1963).

9. Extensive publicity in the community concerning the qualifications of elderly job-seekers (Jimenez, 1965; Ondrey, 1964).

10. The formation of an advisory committee consisting of employers, union officials, and others in the community (United States Department of Agriculture, 1964).

11. The use of group counseling approaches to improve the job readiness of older applicants (Kinvig, 1957).

12. Periodic case conferences on individual applicants (Kinvig, 1957).

The reports emanating from programs for aged persons tend to be highly favorable. The Bureau of Employment Security of the United States Department of Labor (1956), in a study of more than 7,000 job applicants 45 years of age and over, found that a majority of the placements achieved in this client group occurred as a result of state employment service efforts. While women and skilled workers had the greatest degree of success, placements occurred most frequently for the applicant group as a whole in smaller firms. In many instances, placement success occurred despite the fact that these older workers were compelled to shift from their accustomed industries and occupations to new ones. An intensive vocational counseling and placement service offered to 376 older job applicants in St. Louis resulted in employment for many of the participating individuals. A successful record in this project was achieved through extensive evaluation of each applicant and a dynamic job development program (Wilson, 1957).

A placement program can be effective for older workers even in an industrially-depressed area. Thus, in South Bend, Indiana, older workers who were displaced by a plant closing and, subsequently received a comprehensive training and placement service, found new jobs in large numbers. During an initial six-month period, 406 individuals were placed on new jobs in industry (National Council on Aging, 1963). In general, training programs having a built-in pleasant service tend to result in higher placement rates (e.g. Kearney, 1962).

During Senior Citizens Month, the New York State Employment Service (Wolfe and Kretchmer, 1957) used window displays, mass mailings (including profiles of job applicants), field visiting, and telephone solicitation to promote job opportunities for older workers. Although the effort achieved widespread success, it was most effective in developing job openings in smaller firms, neighborhood shops, and one-girl offices. It was concluded that such places of work placed a relatively lower premium on youth and appearance. A New York City re-training program in office work for older women (Coleman, 1955) placed 80 women in industry who otherwise would have remained unemployed. Individualized counseling and training coupled with direct approaches to employers contributed to the success of this program.

A few rehabilitation-oriented placement programs for the older disabled worker have been reported in the literature. As noted earlier, Federation Employment and Guidance Service (Rusalem, Baxt, and Barshop, 1963) placed more than three-fourths of a group of disabled older persons who completed a vocational evaluation, counseling, and training program in a specialized workshop facility program. The Institute for Work Adjustment of the Milwaukee Jewish Vocational Service served 206 older disabled clients in a three-year demonstration project, forty-seven per cent of whom found employment as a result of the service. Most of the jobs obtained by this client group resulted from project efforts. Some of these clients required referral to a sheltered workshop after having spent time in competitive industry. This finding suggests the need for an intensive follow-up service for this client group (Jewish Vocational Service of Milwaukee, Wisconsin Senior Opportunity Workshop, 1964).

The literature on the placement of the older disabled worker does not describe unique approaches to be used with such clients. On the contrary, the tried-and-true methods of employer education, community committees, direct mail, person-to-person employer contacts, and telephone solicitation seem to be used as frequently with the aged as they are with younger groups. Apparently, the basic principles of selective placement are applicable to disabled older persons without major modification. Virtually all of the authors agree that employers should be informed about the values of hiring this group and, concomitantly, misinformation and anxiety about older disabled workers, in general, should be dispelled. Although mass educational efforts at employer re-education are referred to with some frequency in the literature, evidence concerning their effectiveness is lacking. On the other hand, a direct relationship with an employer concerning a specific older disabled client is reported to produce consistently favorable placement results.

Although there are no unique components in a placement program for older persons, there are points of emphasis which stand out:

1. Such a program is most effective when it is differentiated from other community placement activities. Older job applicants seem to "get lost in the slats" of a general placement program for workers of all ages.
2. Placement programs for older disabled clients appear to achieve the greatest success when they are part of larger training and rehabilitation programs.
3. A placement program for this group should stress part-time work opportunities.

4. Since some older disabled clients cannot readily be placed in industry, job opportunities should be created for them in sheltered and semi-sheltered work settings.

5. Because many older disabled workers are placed in short-term, temporary, seasonal, and other transitory types of employment, a follow-up service is essential to cope with job displacement problems.

6. Finally, owing to the multiple deterrents that confront them, most older disabled persons fail to achieve placement through their own efforts. As a consequence, communities should develop special placement resources for this group manned by trained and motivated personnel.

VOLUNTEER SERVICES AND CRAFTS

Volunteer activities occupy a niche somewhere between remunerative employment and leisure activities. Although voluntary service lacks the elements of remuneration, rigid time scheduling, and explicit production standards, it does provide opportunities for engagement in useful activity, and it can enhance the dignity and status of the individual. The White House Conference on Aging observed that community activities enable aged persons to remain active contributors to the national welfare, while simultaneously creating positive attitudes toward the aging (National Council of Jewish Women, 1963). It has been noted that aged volunteers tend to achieve improved morale and a more positive outlook toward life (United States Congress. Senate, 1966).

Many older disabled individuals who do not choose to enter remunerative employment or are not qualified to do so can benefit from engaging in volunteer service in the community. For generations, volunteer programs have made use of older individuals in such activities as reading to blind students, performing clerical tasks at community agencies, assisting in hospitals, and visiting homebound and hospitalized children. Within recent years, there has been an even greater recognition of the values of such activities for vocationally-oriented aged persons for whom competitive employment is not feasible. For example, proposals have been made to organize a Talented Senior Corps (United States Congress. Senate, 1966) which would utilize persons 55 years of age and over to enhance community services. Although volunteer service appeals to a sizeable group of aged persons, the absence of an earnings component limits its usefulness.

On the basis of questionnaires received from 297 older persons in Boston, Lambert (1964) found that one-fourth of her sample had both a willingness and an ability to contribute free services to the community. Most of the respondents wished to devote only limited time to such activities, usually no more than one half-day per week, and they expressed a preference for tasks that involved interpersonal communication. Lambert felt that the scope of volunteer community service would be broadened by the following measures: (1) making transportation available, (2) offering some compensation, and (3) assigning volunteers to more interesting tasks.

Specific volunteer activities mentioned in the literature include:

1. Participation in church activities (Utah State Department of Health, 1964).
2. Recreational, clerical, and library work in Veterans Administration facilities (Park, 1964).
3. Service as aides in therapeutic recreation programs for the ill and disabled (Retirement Research and Welfare Association, 1964).
4. Clerical and related tasks in homes for the aged (Reingold and Dobrof, 1964).
5. Working with children as foster grandparents, tutors, and teachers' aides (Wille, 1964; Weed, 1965).
6. Functioning in the Peace Corps (United States Peace Corps Office of Public Affairs, Undated).

Volunteer programs for older persons seem to function more effectively when the following conditions prevail: (1) careful selection of volunteers, (2) organized training programs, (3) central listings of volunteer openings, (4) coordinated community recruitment and induction, (5) competent professional leadership, (6) the establishment of work standards, (7) a recognition system, (8) good supervision, and (9) a variety of opportunities to meet varied interests. Under favorable circumstances, especially when the situation is physically convenient for the older person, volunteer activities can enrich the lives of retired individuals and provide some of the advantages of work. Under the best of circumstances, however, volunteer activities will fail to meet the needs of individuals in economic distress who have limited education and psychological needs for remuneration.

Arts and crafts activities can approximate paid work to some extent. Arts and crafts programs, having a remunerative element, serve all age groups. However, a few examples cited in the literature appeal specifically to older persons. The Elder Craftsman Shop (1964) in New York City provides outlets for articles produced by persons 60 years of age and over on a competitive level with sales being conducted on a business-like basis. The Senior League Employment Program in Arkansas, a self-help organization, (Lankford, 1965) assisted older workers to produce saleable articles for discarded and other local materials, compensating participants on a piece work basis. In general, remunerative craftwork programs currently do not seem to constitute an extensive source of work opportunities for the aged disabled person. As time goes by and as new opportunities in this area are explored, additional arts and crafts work possibilities may be developed. The general decline in the demand for hand-processed products suggests that crafts may not achieve large-scale importance in vocational programming for the aged in the years ahead.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

Although many writers recommend the incorporation of vocational services into total community programs for the aged, few instances of this appear in the literature. Frankel (1966) recommended the establishment of multi-purpose senior citizens' centers as one means through which a community may mount a multi-pronged attack upon the problems of aging. Vocational programming would have a vital role in such a comprehensive center, enabling the older person to use the skills and knowledge of a lifetime for the benefit of both the community and himself. The U.S. President's Council on Aging (1966) also has stressed the need for multi-functional programs offering counseling, vocational training, and sheltered workshop services. Finally, Hoyt (1966) reported a comprehensive rehabilitation-oriented program for nursing home residents that achieved positive results. In the main, although highly recommended, comprehensive programs are still primarily in the proposal stage. The precise vocational values of such programs will not be known until they are created in some numbers and evaluated by disinterested research personnel.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

A review of the literature concerning the vocational adjustment of older disabled persons leads to the following generalizations:

1. Some 10 to 15 per cent of older persons having significant disabilities retain an interest in continuing or re-entering employment.
2. The evidence suggests that a large majority of these vocationally-motivated individuals possess sufficient potential vocational capacity to engage in some level of employment.
3. With adequate rehabilitation evaluation, counseling, training, and placement, older disabled persons who elect to work usually can be helped to do so.
4. Diminished capacities constitute a reality-based limitation upon the vocational functioning of older disabled workers. However, negative and avoidant reactions among employers, labor union officials, and the public, in general, are an even more serious deterrent to employment.
5. Programs designed to meet the vocational rehabilitation needs of older disabled persons have accomplished their stated goals in almost all cases.
6. Despite these successes and the availability of techniques for dealing with the problem, most vocationally-motivated older disabled persons in the United States are deprived of even the most minimal vocational rehabilitation services.
7. This deprivation is not only costly to the individual but to the community, as well. Instead of functioning as productive and satisfied contributors to the economy, thousands of vocationally-motivated older disabled persons drain off community and family funds for support, and feel victimized by society's indifference to their needs.
8. A wide variety of approaches have been employed successfully in the vocational rehabilitation of the older disabled individual. Yet, vast areas of programming still lie virtually unexplored, including white collar and community service programs, self-help groups, new occupa-

tions for the aged, and institutional and homebound programs coordinated with community activities.

9. The literature probably reflects only a fraction of the vocational activities currently being conducted on behalf of older disabled persons. Some practitioners are disinclined or unable to communicate their experience in writing, and some of the writing fails to appear in accessible form.

10. Althoughenormousprogress has taken place in the past decade, the vocational rehabilitation of the older disabled worker is still in its infancy.

On the basis of the data reviewed in this paper, the following recommendations are made:

1. Demonstration Comprehensive Programs

Most of the programs reported in the literature have employed only one or two approaches to the vocational problems of older disabled persons. Even the few large-scale efforts as that undertaken by FEGS have limited themselves to relatively narrow phases of the total picture. Consequently, there is a compelling need for one or more comprehensive demonstration programs which will span the total problem spectrum of vocationally-motivated older disabled persons, and will offer the broadest possible range of vocational and psychosocial services. Such programs ascertain the true impact of applying current knowledge systematically to the vocational adjustment problems of this group and, hopefully, will stimulate further study and experimentation.

2. A Clearinghouse for Rehabilitation Information

Vast stores of data concerning vocational rehabilitation programs for older disabled persons probably remain untapped. Such data are probably in the thoughts and experiences of numerous practitioners, administrators, and clients who rarely break through the communication barrier to express themselves in a written form. Yet, the potential value of these data to the field may be inestimable. Just as the field of education has established information storage and retrieval facilities at a number of institutions, the field of aging needs comparable arrangements in relation to the vocational adjustment of older disabled persons. One or more information centers should be established as soon as possible to serve as clearinghouses for the growing actual and latent body of knowledge in this area.

3. Research and Training Centers

Progress in providing vocational rehabilitation service to older disabled persons is being hampered by shortages both in trained personnel and meaningful research. One means of coping with this situation is the establishment of research and training centers distributed throughout the United States. Centers of this type should be established in suitable institutions at the earliest possible moment.

4. Social-Psychological Approaches

After all is said and done, the core of the problem lies in the culture. A massive social action project involving psychologists, educators, sociologists, anthropologists, and other specialists should be undertaken immediately to determine the most efficacious means of counteracting society's indifference to the vocational problems of older persons.

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HIGHLIGHTS (Continued)

It was concluded that a comprehensive central-neighborhood facility vocational rehabilitation program for older disabled persons can have a significant impact not only upon the lives of those who participate in such a service but upon the whole community, as well. Recommendations include the early establishment of similar programs in other areas, the incorporation of this service pattern into general community programs for older persons, the use of the central-neighborhood facility model with other disability and age groups, the provision of incentives to other agencies to encourage them to serve this population, and the establishment of at least one research and demonstration center designed to explore further the vocational rehabilitation of older disabled persons.

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